

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS
OF
MAHATMA GANDHI

FOURTH EDITION

Rs. Four
G. A. NATESAN & CO.
MADRAS

NOTE

THREE editions of Mahatma Gandhi's Speeches and Writings have been sold out in quick succession and this new omnibus edition is issued in response to a public demand which has been insistent for some years past. Mahatma Gandhi holds a unique position in the public life of this country, not only as the leader of a great political movement, but as a moral and social reformer with an immense following. Nor is his following confined to this country only. Thousands of men and women of different classes and diverse occupations, in the West as well as in the East, have felt the call of his idealism; and thousands more who do not swear by his political or social philosophy, nor own allegiance to his way of life have acknowledged the singular charm of his personality and the profound influence of his thought and example on our generation. To those of his way of thinking he has become an *avatar*, while to others who do not exactly see eye to eye with him he is a force to be reckoned with in the complex life of our civilization.

His speeches and writings, which cover the whole field of his public activity in South Africa and India for over three decades, are naturally as varied and copious as his interests are manifold. They embrace every phase of his life's work—politics, education, economics, ethics, social, and religious reform, and, indeed, touch the entire gamut of human endeavour. To gifts of leadership Mahatma Gandhi adds the gift of words, and no writer of our

time has surpassed him in that supreme faculty—swaying great multitudes by the magic of words—simple, direct, inspiring. His words partake of his character and are strong by virtue of mere simplicity, which is the mark of great minds.

This collection claims to be fairly comprehensive and up-to-date. The chapters are so divided as to cover the Mahatma's varied activities in different periods of life, and the top notes set forth the time and circumstance of the writing or utterance. Select articles from his pen and excerpts from his writings and speeches are also taken from *Young India* and *Navajivan*—the Mahatma's English and Gujarati Weeklies—articles throwing light on the movements of his mind, and forming a running commentary on the leading events of our time. The book is thus of equal interest as history and autobiography.

THE PUBLISHERS.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
The South African Indian Question	
The Beginning of the Struggle	1
Deputation to Lord Selborne	29
Mr. Gandhi's Address	31
Deputation to Lord Elgin	42
Before the Court in 1907	49
Before the Court in 1908	52
Attitude towards the Assailants	53
The Issue at Stake	54
The Marriage Question	59
Before the Court in 1913	63
The Solomon Commission	65
Indians and Full Citizen Rights	73
A Truce with the Government	75
The Settlement	78
Farewell Speech at Durban	80
Address to the Indentured Indians	84
Address to the Tamil Community	86
Farewell Speech at Johannesburg	90
Farewell to South Africa	97
Reception in Madras	102
The Indian South African League	106
Reciprocity between India and the Dominions	108
Indian and European Emigrants	110
Indentured Labour	113
Indian Colonial Emigration	117
Advice to South African Indians	122
Railway Restrictions in Transvaal	125
Disabilities of Transvaal Indians	127
Indian Rights in the Transvaal	130
Imperial Conference Resolutions	134
Another South African Commission	137

time has surpassed him in that supreme faculty—swaying great multitudes by the magic of words—simple, direct, inspiring. His words partake of his character and are strong by virtue of mere simplicity, which is the mark of great minds.

This collection claims to be fairly comprehensive and up-to-date. The chapters are so divided as to cover the Mahatma's varied activities in different periods of life, and the top notes set forth the time and circumstance of the writing or utterance. Select articles from his pen and excerpts from his writings and speeches are also taken from *Young India* and *Navajivan*—the Mahatma's English and Gujarati Weeklies—articles throwing light on the movements of his mind, and forming a running commentary on the leading events of our time. The book is thus of equal interest as history and autobiography.

THE PUBLISHERS.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
The South African Indian Question	
The Beginning of the Struggle	1
Deputation to Lord Selborne	29
Mr. Gandhi's Address	31
Deputation to Lord Elgin	42
Before the Court in 1907	49
Before the Court in 1908	52
Attitude towards the Assailants	53
The Issue at Stake	54
The Marriage Question	59
Before the Court in 1913	63
The Solomon Commission	65
Indians and Full Citizen Rights	73
A Truce with the Government	75
The Settlement	78
Farewell Speech at Durban	80
Address to the Indentured Indians	84
Address to the Tamil Community	86
Farewell Speech at Johannesburg	90
Farewell to South Africa	97
Reception in Madras	102
The Indian South African League	106
Reciprocity between India and the Dominions	108
Indian and European Emigrants	110
Indentured Labour	113
Indian Colonial Emigration	117
Advice to South African Indians	122
Railway Restrictions in Transvaal	125
Disabilities of Transvaal Indians	127
Indian Rights in the Transvaal	130
Imperial Conference Resolutions	134
Another South African Commission	137

	PAGE
The Class Areas Bill	138
First Cape Town Conference	142
First Cape Town Agreement, 1927	146
Sastri as First Ambassador	147
Appeal to South African Indians	151
Indian Settlers in South Africa	153
Sastri's Work	155
The Task before Sir K. V. Reddi	158
Second Cape Town Agreement, 1932	160
Passive Resistance	
The Genesis of Passive Resistance	161
Soul Force <i>versus</i> Physical Force	162
The Birth of <i>Satyagraha</i>	163
Passive Resistance in South Africa	164
The Ethics of Passive Resistance	165
Passive Resisters in the Tolstoy Farm	167
The Meaning of Passive Resistance	168
Passive Resistance in Action	178
A Lesson to India	181
A Message to the Congress	182
Gains of Passive Resistance Struggle	185
Theory and Practice of Passive Resistance	189
Soul Force and Indian Politics	192
Vykom <i>Satyagraha</i>	196
<i>Satyagraha</i> : The Sovereign Remedy	199
<i>Satyagraha</i> in India	201
Salt <i>Satyagraha</i>	205
Rules for a <i>Satyagrahi</i>	206
Jail Experiences in South Africa	
First Jail Experience	209
Second Jail Experience	221
Third Jail Experience	229
Jail Life in India	
The Meaning of the Imprisonments	241
Work in Gaols	246
A Model Prisoner	249
" As Happy as a Bird "	253

	PAGE
Life in Yerawada Prison	... 254
Equality of Treatment	... 265
Illness and Release	... 267
Letters to the Ashram	... 269
The Champaran Enquiry	
Agrarian Troubles in Behar Plantations	... 273
The Enquiry and Settlement	... 277
The Kaira Question	
The Situation in Kaira	... 279
The Vow of Passive Resistance	... 282
Statement on the Kaira Distress	... 283
Reply to the Commissioner	... 289
The Meaning of the Covenant	... 292
Reply to Kaira Press Note	... 293
End of the Kaira Struggle	... 299
The Last Phase	... 303
Earlier Indian Speeches	
The Duties of British Citizenship	... 305
On Anarchical Crimes	... 307
Loyalty to the British Empire	... 310
Advice to Students	... 311
The Reward of Public Life	... 316
Hindu University Speech	... 317
The Awakening of India	... 327
The Gurukula	... 329
Swadeshi	... 336
Ahimsa	... 345
Economic <i>versus</i> Moral Progress	... 349
The Moral Basis of Co-operation	... 356
Third Class in Indian Railways	... 364
Vernaculars as Media of Instruction	... 370
Social Service	... 373
The Satyagrhashrama	... 377
Indian Merchants	... 391
National Dress	... 393
Hindi: The National Language for India	... 395
Gujarat Political Conference	... 400

	PAGE
On Womanhood	... 423
The Ahmedabad Mill-hands	... 430
Letter to Lord Chelmsford	... 436
Recruiting for the War	... 441
The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme	... 447
The Rowlatt Bills and Satyagraha	
The Pledge	... 450
Manifesto to the Press	... 451
Speech at Allahabad	... 453
Speech at Bombay	... 455
Speech at Madras	... 457
Appeal to Lord Chelmsford	... 461
The <i>Satyagraha</i> Day	... 464
<i>Satyagraha</i> Day in Madras	... 465
The Delhi Incident	... 468
Distribution of Prohibited Literature	... 470
Message After Arrest	... 471
The " <i>Satyagrahi</i> "	... 473
<i>Satyagraha</i> and <i>Duragraha</i>	... 474
Speech at Ahmedabad	... 476
Temporary Suspension of the Movement	... 479
Non-Co-operation	
The Punjab and Khilafat Wrongs	... 481
Amritsar Appeals	... 484
The Khilafat Question	... 487
The Punjab Disorders: A Personal Statement	... 490
How to Work Non-Co-operation	... 493
Open Letter to Lord Chelmsford	... 497
The Hunter Report	... 501
From <i>Satyagraha</i> to Non-Co-operation	... 506
The First of August, 1920	... 508
Guzarat National University Address	... 510
Courts and Schools	... 513
Speech at Madras	... 518
Speech at the Special Congress, Calcutta	... 533
<i>Swaraj</i> in one year	... 540
To Every Englishman in India	... 545
The Creed of the Congress	... 553

	PAGE
Appeal to Young Bengal	... 557
Open Letter to the Duke of Connaught	... 560
Social Boycott	... 563
The Malegaon Incident	... 566
The Simla Visit	... 568
The Ali Brothers' Apology	... 573
Appeal to the Women of India	... 577
The Arrest of the Ali Brothers	... 581
Manifesto on Freedom of Opinion	... 586
Reply to Rabindranath Tagore	... 587
The Prince of Wales' Visit	... 595
The Bombay Riots	... 597
Civil Disobedience	... 612
The Moplah Outbreak	... 616
Reply to Lord Ronaldshay	... 618
Wanted a Round Table Conference	... 623
Ahmedabad Congress Speech	... 626
The Independence Resolution	... 630
The Bombay Conference	... 632
Bardoli Civil Disobedience	
Letter to Lord Reading	... 641
Reply to the Government of India	... 645
The Crime of Chauri Chaura	... 654
In Defence of the Bardoli Decisions	... 663
The Delhi Resolutions	... 668
Reply to Critics	... 676
A Divine Warning	... 685
The Arrest and the Great Trial	
"If I am Arrested"	... 689
Mr. Gandhi's Statement	... 693
Statement before the Court	... 694
Oral Statement	... 695
Written Statement	... 697
The Judgment	... 703
Mr. Gandhi's Reply	... 704
Message to the Country	... 704
Belgaum Congress Address	... 705

	PAGE
Salt Satyagraha	733
Dominion Status <i>versus</i> Independence	734
The Eleven Points	736
Letters to Lord Irwin	738
The Second Letter	747
Last Message and Testament	753
The Great March	753
Turning the search-light inward	755
Statement at Dandi	761
Breaking the Salt Law	763
Women and the Movement	765
Message to the Nation	766
Back to Yerawada	768
Irwin-Gandhi Agreement	769
The Terms of the Agreement	772
The Agreement and After	777
R. T. C. Speeches	785
The National Demand	787
The Legislatures	798
Congress and the Minorities	814
The Supreme Court	820
The Minorities Question	827
Defence	835
Commercial Discrimination	844
Finance	859
Provincial Autonomy	868
Concluding Speech	877
<i>Au Revoir</i>	896
Gandhi-Willington Correspondence	899
Reply to Bombay Welcome	900
Speech at the Welfare of India League	906
Correspondence with Lord Willington	913
In Yerawada again	928
Untouchability	929
Correspondence with Premier	933
Letter to Bombay Government	946
The Ethics of Fasting	951

	PAGE
The Yerawada Pact	... 954
The Aftermath	... 959
Hindu-Muslim Question	... 961
The Khilafat and the Cow	... 962
Hindu-Muslim Tension	... 968
Hindu-Muslim Unity	... 992
The Great Fast	... 999
The Unity Conference	... 1004
The Inner Meaning of the Fast	... 1005
" My Refuge "	... 1007
Breaking the Fast	... 1008
Personal	
Gopal Krishna Gokhale	... 1009
Lokamanya Tilak	... 1014
Gokhale, Tilak and Mehta	... 1017
Chitta Ranjan Das	... 1021
Principal Rudra	... 1023
Dwijendranath Tagore	... 1025
Swami Shraddhananda	... 1026
Dr. Ansari	... 1029
Hakim Ajmal Khan	... 1031
Dr. Besant	... 1032
Magarlal Gandhi	... 1033
Lala Lajpat Rai	... 1036
Jawaharlal Nehru	... 1039
Pandit Motilal Nehru	... 1040
Miscellaneous	
A Confession of Faith	... 1041
Rights and Duties of Labour	... 1045
Strikes	... 1049
The Fear of Death	... 1051
Hinduism	... 1054
Christian Missions	... 1059
Prayer : A Sheer Necessity	... 1064
Voluntary Poverty	... 1066
A Sermon on God	... 1070
Index	... i

PENNINGTON PUBLIC LIBR
SRIVILLIFUTTUR.

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Mahatma Gandhi	Frontispiece
M. K. Gandhi: as a Law Student in London	... 1
M. K. Gandhi, Bar.-At-Law	... 1
Gandhiji in South Africa	... 97
Gandhiji in 1914	... 97
Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi	... 305
Kasturibhai Gandhi	... 385
A Scene of Gandhiji's Operation	... 705
Mahatma Gandhi: the latest Portrait	... 753
Mahatma Gandhi during the march to Dandi	... 753
The Mahatma at the Wheel	... 785
Mahatma Gandhi, Mira Bai, and Dr. Johnson	... 785

time has surpassed him in that supreme faculty—swaying great multitudes by the magic of words—simple, direct, inspiring. His words partake of his character and are strong by virtue of mere simplicity, which is the mark of great minds.

This collection claims to be fairly comprehensive and up-to-date. The chapters are so divided as to cover the Mahatma's varied activities in different periods of life, and the top notes set forth the time and circumstance of the writing or utterance. Select articles from his pen and excerpts from his writings and speeches are also taken from *Young India* and *Navajivan*—the Mahatma's English and Gujarati Weeklies—articles throwing light on the movements of his mind, and forming a running commentary on the leading events of our time. The book is thus of equal interest as history and autobiography.

THE PUBLISHERS.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
The South African Indian Question	
The Beginning of the Struggle	... 1
Deputation to Lord Selborne	... 29
• Mr. Gandhi's Address	... 31
Deputation to Lord Elgin	... 42
Before the Court in 1907	... 49
Before the Court in 1908	... 52
Attitude towards the Assailants	... 53
The Issue at Stake	... 54
The Marriage Question	... 59
Before the Court in 1913	... 63
The Solomon Commission	... 65
Indians and Full Citizen Rights	... 73
A Truce with the Government	... 75
The Settlement	... 78
Farewell Speech at Durban	... 80
Address to the Indentured Indians	... 84
Address to the Tamil Community	... 86
Farewell Speech at Johannesburg	... 90
Farewell to South Africa	... 97
Reception in Madras	... 102
The Indian South African League	... 106
Reciprocity between India and the Dominions	... 108
Indian and European Emigrants	... 110
Indentured Labour	... 113
Indian Colonial Emigration	... 117
Advice to South African Indians	... 122
Railway Restrictions in Transvaal	... 125
Disabilities of Transvaal Indians	... 127
Indian Rights in the Transvaal	... 130
Imperial Conference Resolutions	... 134
Another South African Commission	... 137

	PAGE
The Class Areas Bill	138
First Cape Town Conference	142
First Cape Town Agreement, 1927	146
Sastri as First Ambassador	147
Appeal to South African Indians	151
Indian Settlers in South Africa	153
Sastri's Work	155
The Task before Sir K. V. Reddi	158
Second Cape Town Agreement, 1932	160
Passive Resistance	
The Genesis of Passive Resistance	161
Soul Force <i>versus</i> Physical Force	162
The Birth of <i>Satyagraha</i>	163
Passive Resistance in South Africa	164
The Ethics of Passive Resistance	165
Passive Resisters in the Tolstoy Farm	167
The Meaning of Passive Resistance	168
Passive Resistance in Action	178
A Lesson to India	181
A Message to the Congress	182
Gains of Passive Resistance Struggle	185
Theory and Practice of Passive Resistance	189
Soul Force and Indian Politics	192
Vykom <i>Satyagraha</i>	196
<i>Satyagraha</i> : The Sovereign Remedy	199
<i>Satyagraha</i> in India	201
Salt <i>Satyagraha</i>	205
Rules for a <i>Satyagrahi</i>	206
Jail Experiences in South Africa	
First Jail Experience	209
Second Jail Experience	221
Third Jail Experience	229
Jail Life in India	
The Meaning of the Imprisonments	241
Work in Gaols	246
A Model Prisoner	249
"As Happy as a Bird"	253

	PAGE
Life in Yerawada Prison	... 254
Equality of Treatment	... 265
Illness and Release	... 267
Letters to the Ashram	... 269
The Champaran Enquiry	
Agrarian Troubles in Behar Plantations	... 273
The Enquiry and Settlement	... 277
The Kaira Question	
The Situation in Kaira	... 279
The Vow of Passive Resistance	... 282
Statement on the Kaira Distress	... 283
Reply to the Commissioner	... 289
The Meaning of the Covenant	... 292
Reply to Kaira Press Note	... 293
End of the Kaira Struggle	... 299
The Last Phase	... 303
Earlier Indian Speeches	
The Duties of British Citizenship	... 305
On Anarchical Crimes	... 307
Loyalty to the British Empire	... 310
Advice to Students	... 311
The Reward of Public Life	... 316
Hindu University Speech	... 317
The Awakening of India	... 327
The Gurukula	... 329
Swadeshi	... 336
Ahimsa	... 345
Economic <i>versus</i> Moral Progress	... 349
The Moral Basis of Co-operation	... 356
Third Class in Indian Railways	... 364
Vernaculars as Media of Instruction	... 370
Social Service	... 373
The Satyagrhashrama	... 377
Indian Merchants	... 391
National Dress	... 393
Hindi: The National Language for India	... 395
Gujarat Political Conference	... 400

	PAGE
On Womanhood	... 423
The Ahmedabad Mill-hands	... 430
Letter to Lord Chelmsford	... 436
Recruiting for the War	... 441
The Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme	... 447
The Rowlatt Bills and Satyagraha	
The Pledge	... 450
Manifesto to the Press	... 451
Speech at Allahabad	... 453
Speech at Bombay	... 455
Speech at Madras	... 457
Appeal to Lord Chelmsford	... 461
The <i>Satyagraha</i> Day	... 464
<i>Satyagraha</i> Day in Madras	... 465
The Delhi Incident	... 468
Distribution of Prohibited Literature	... 470
Message After Arrest	... 471
The " <i>Satyagrahi</i> "	... 473
<i>Satyagraha</i> and <i>Duragraha</i>	... 474
Speech at Ahmedabad	... 476
Temporary Suspension of the Movement	... 479
Non-Co-operation	
The Punjab and Khilafat Wrongs	... 481
Amritsar Appeals	... 484
The Khilafat Question	... 487
The Punjab Disorders: A Personal Statement	... 490
How to Work Non-Co-operation	... 493
Open Letter to Lord Chelmsford	... 497
The Hunter Report	... 501
From <i>Satyagraha</i> to Non-Co-operation	... 506
The First of August, 1920	... 508
Guzarat National University Address	... 510
Courts and Schools	... 513
Speech at Madras	... 518
Speech at the Special Congress, Calcutta	... 533
<i>Swaraj</i> in one year	... 540
To Every Englishman in India	... 545
The Creed of the Congress	... 553

CONTENTS

xi

	PAGE
Appeal to Young Bengal	... 557
Open Letter to the Duke of Connaught	... 560
Social Boycott	... 563
The Malegaon Incident	... 566
The Simla Visit	... 568
The Ali Brothers' Apology	... 573
Appeal to the Women of India	... 577
The Arrest of the Ali Brothers	... 581
Manifesto on Freedom of Opinion	... 586
Reply to Rabindranath Tagore	... 587
The Prince of Wales' Visit	... 595
The Bombay Riots	... 597
Civil Disobedience	... 612
The Moplah Outbreak	... 616
Reply to Lord Ronaldshay	... 618
Wanted a Round Table Conference	... 623
Ahmedabad Congress Speech	... 626
The Independence Resolution	... 630
The Bombay Conference	... 632
 Bardoli Civil Disobedience	
Letter to Lord Reading	... 641
Reply to the Government of India	... 645
The Crime of Chauri Chaura	... 654
In Defence of the Bardoli Decisions	... 663
The Delhi Resolutions	... 668
Reply to Critics	... 676
A Divine Warning	... 685
 The Arrest and the Great Trial	
“If I am Arrested”	... 689
Mr. Gandhi's Statement	... 693
Statement before the Court	... 694
Oral Statement	... 695
Written Statement	... 697
The Judgment	... 703
Mr. Gandhi's Reply	... 704
Message to the Country	... 704
Belgaum Congress Address	... 705

	PAGE
Salt Satyagraha	733
Dominion Status <i>versus</i> Independence	734
The Eleven Points	736
Letters to Lord Irwin	738
The Second Letter	747
Last Message and Testament	753
The Great March	753
Turning the search-light inward	755
Statement at Dandi	761
Breaking the Salt Law	763
Women and the Movement	765
Message to the Nation	766
Back to Yerawada	768
Irwin-Gandhi Agreement	769
The Terms of the Agreement	772
The Agreement and After	777
R. T. C. Speeches	785
The National Demand	787
The Legislatures	798
Congress and the Minorities	814
The Supreme Court	820
The Minorities Question	827
Defence	835
Commercial Discrimination	844
Finance	859
Provincial Autonomy	868
Concluding Speech	877
<i>Au Revoir</i>	896
Gandhi-Willington Correspondence	899
Reply to Bombay Welcome	900
Speech at the Welfare of India League	906
Correspondence with Lord Willington	913
In Yerawada again	928
Untouchability	929
Correspondence with Premier	933
Letter to Bombay Government	946
The Ethics of Fasting	951

	PAGE
The Yerawada Pact	... 954.
The Aftermath	... 959
Hindu-Muslim Question	... 961
The Khilafat and the Cow	... 962
Hindu-Muslim Tension	... 968.
Hindu-Muslim Unity	... 992.
The Great Fast	... 999
The Unity Conference	... 1004.
The Inner Meaning of the Fast	... 1005
" My Refuge "	... 1007
Breaking the Fast	... 1008.
Personal	
Gopal Krishna Gokhale	... 1009.
Lokamanya Tilak	... 1014
Gokhale, Tilak and Mehta	... 1017.
Chitta Ranjan Das	... 1021
Principal Rudra	... 1023
Dwijendranath Tagore	... 1025.
Swami Shraddhananda	... 1026.
Dr. Ansari	... 1029
Hakim Ajmal Khan	... 1031
Dr. Besant	... 1032
Magaral Gandhi	... 1033.
Lala Lajpat Rai	... 1036
Jawaharlal Nehru	... 1039.
Pandit Motilal Nehru	... 1040.
Miscellaneous	
A Confession of Faith	... 1041
Rights and Duties of Labour	... 1045.
Strikes	... 1049.
The Fear of Death	... 1051
Hinduism	... 1054
Christian Missions	... 1059.
Prayer : A Sheer Necessity	... 1064
Voluntary Poverty	... 1066.
A Sermon on God	... 1070.
Index	... i

PENNINGTON PUBLIC LIBR
SRIVILLIPUTTUR.

ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
Mahatma Gandhi	Frontispiece
M. K. Gandhi: as a Law Student in London	... 1
M. K. Gandhi, Bar.-At-Law	... 1
Gandhiji in South Africa	... 97
Gandhiji in 1914	... 97
Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi	... 305
Kasturibhai Gandhi	... 385
A Scene of Gandhiji's Operation	... 705
Mahatma Gandhi: the latest Portrait	... 753
Mahatma Gandhi during the march to Dandi	... 753
The Mahatma at the Wheel	... 785
Mahatma Gandhi, Mira Bai, and Dr. Johnson	... 785

SECOND CAPE TOWN AGREEMENT, 1932

The Second Round Table Conference was held at Cape Town from the 12th January to 4th February 1932. The Indian delegation which included the Rt. Hon. Sastri, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Mr. Bajpai was led by the Hon. Sir Fazli Hussain, Member of the Government of India in charge of the Department of Emigration. They were helped in their work by the then Agent-General S. K. V. Reddi and the indefatigable Mr. C. F. Andrews. The results of the Conference were announced simultaneously in the Indian Legislature and the Union Parliament on the 5th April. The aim of the Conference was to review the working of the first Agreement of 1927 with a view to bring about any modifications that experience might suggest. The members of the delegation could not, as on previous occasions, avail themselves of the advice and guidance of Mahatma Gandhi as, at the time, he was a prisoner at Yeravada. The Rt. Hon. Sastri gave expression to the feelings of the delegation on this matter in his reply to the civic address presented to him by the Corporation of Madras on April 26.

"Twice before it has fallen to my lot to return from South Africa after fulfilling certain missions. On both these occasions, it was felt by all my colleagues that the first thing to do on return to the shores of India was to go to Mahatma Gandhi and make a representation to him of our doings. To no one could a prior report be made. If he approved of our work, that was enough—this was the feeling not merely of myself who may be considered to have a weakness for Mahatma Gandhi, but it was the feeling of all with whom I was associated. And if I may for the first time publish a secret, it was also the feeling of the Members of the Government of India. How sad I must feel now, you can imagine, when it was not possible for me to make a similar report to the one man in all India who has a right to form a judgment of South African affairs and lead public sentiment in the country. But I have a feeling that if it had been possible to do as I did on the two previous occasions, the result would have been exactly similar. The Mahatma, I think, would have blessed our work and would have said that the Indian delegation could not have done better."

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

THE GENESIS OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

In answer to a question put to him by the Rev. Joseph Doke, his biographer, as to the birth and evolution of this principle so far as he was concerned, Mr. Gandhi replied as follows :

“I remember,” he said, “how one verse of a Gujarati poem which, as a child I learned at school, clung to me. In substance it was this :

‘If a man gives you a drink of water and you give him a drink in return, that is nothing.

Real beauty consists in doing good against evil.’

“As a child, this verse had a powerful influence over me and I tried to carry it into practice. Then came the Sermon on the Mount.”

“But,” said I, “surely the *Bhagavad Gita* came first?”

“No,” he replied, “of course I knew the *Bhagavad Gita* in Sanskrit tolerably well, but I had not made its teaching in that particular a study. It was the New Testament which really awakened me to the rightness and value of Passive Resistance. When I read in the Sermon on the Mount such passages as ‘Resist not him that is evil but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also’ and ‘Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be sons of our Father which is in heaven.’ I was simply overjoyed and found my own opinion confirmed where I least expected it. The *Bhagavad Gita* deepened the impression and Tolstoy’s ‘The Kingdom of God is within you’ gave it a permanent form.”

Tolstoy, Ruskin, Thoreau and the Passive Resistance Movement in England "had proved an object lesson, not only to him but to his people, of singular force and interest". Mr. Gandhi's ideal "is not so much to resist evil passively, it has its active compliment—to do good in return to evil". In answer to Rev. Joseph Doke, he said:

I do not like the term "passive resistance". It fails to convey all I mean. It describes a method but gives no hint of the system of which it is only part. Real beauty and that is my aim, is in doing good against evil. Still, I adopt the phrase because it is well known and easily understood and because, at present, the great majority of my people can only grasp that idea. To me the ideas which underlie the Gujarati hymn and the "Sermon on the Mount" should revolutionise the whole of life.

SOUL FORCE *versus* PHYSICAL FORCE

The advantages of soul force against physical force are well pictured by Mr. Gandhi in the following words:

Passive resistance is an all sided sword; it cannot be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. Without drawing a drop of blood it produces far-reaching results. It never rusts and cannot be stolen. Competition between passive resisters does not exhaust them. The sword of passive resistance does not require a scabbard and one cannot be forcibly dispossessed of it.

THE BIRTH OF SATYAGRAHA

In one of the chapters in his autobiography, Mahatma Gandhi explains how the principle called *Satyagraha* came into being before even the name was invented. After saying that *Brahmacharya* which he had been observing since 1900, was sealed with a vow in the middle of 1906, Mr. Gandhi writes:

Events were so shaping themselves in Johannesburg as to make this self-purification on my part a preliminary as it were to *Satyagraha*. I can now see that all the principal events of my life, culminating in the vow of *Brahmacharya*, were secretly preparing me for it.

The principle called *Satyagraha* came into being before that name was invented. Indeed when it was born, I myself could not say what it was. In Gujarati also we used the English phrase 'passive resistance' to describe it. When in a meeting of Europeans I found that the term 'passive resistance' was too narrowly construed, that it was supposed to be a weapon of the weak, that it could be characterised by hatred and that it could finally manifest itself as violence, I had to demur to these statements and explain the real nature of the Indian movement. It was clear that a new word must be coined by the Indians to designate their struggle.

But I could not for the life of me find out a new name and therefore offered a nominal prize through the *Indian Opinion* to the reader who made the best suggestion on the subject. As a result Maganlal Gandhi coined the word '*Sadagraha*' (*Sat* = truth, *Agraha* = firmness) and won the prize. But in order to make it clearer I changed the word to '*Satyagraha*' which has since become current in Gujarati as a designation for the struggle.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

As to how the movement originated in South Africa, here is Mr. Gandhi's statement:

Some years ago when I began to take an active part in the public life of Natal, the adoption of this method occurred to me as the best course to pursue should petitions fail, but in the then unorganised condition of our Indian community, the attempt seemed useless. Here however in Johannesburg when the Asiatic Registration Act was introduced, the Indian community was so deeply stirred and so knit together in a common determination to resist it that the moment seemed opportune. Some action they would take; it seemed to be best for the Colony and altogether right that their action should not take a riotous form but that of Passive Resistance. They had no vote in Parliament, no hope of obtaining redress, no one would listen to their complaints. The Christian Churches were indifferent, so I proposed this pathway of suffering and after much discussion it was adopted. In September 1906, there was a large gathering of Indians in the old Empire Theatre when the position was thoroughly faced and under the inspiration of deep feeling and on the proposal of one of our leading men, they swore a solemn oath committing themselves to Passive Resistance.

THE ETHICS OF PASSIVE RESISTANCE

In an address that Mr. Gandhi delivered before an audience of Europeans at the Germiston (Transvaal) Literary and Debating Society in 1908, he said :

Passive resistance was a misnomer. But the expression had been accepted as it was popular and had been for a long time used by those who carried out in practice the idea denoted by the term. The idea was more completely and better expressed by the term "soul force". As such, it was as old as the human race. Active resistance was better expressed by the term "body force". Jesus Christ, Daniel, and Socrates represented the purest form of passive resistance or soul force. All these teachers counted their bodies as nothing in comparison to their soul. Tolstoy was the best and brightest (modern) exponent of the doctrine. He not only expounded it but lived according to it. In India, the doctrine was understood and commonly practised long before it came into vogue in Europe. It was easy to see that soul force was infinitely superior to body force. If people in order to secure redress of wrongs resorted to soul force, much of the present suffering would be avoided. In any case the wielding of this force never caused suffering to others. So that whenever it was misused, it only injured the users and not those against whom it was used. Like virtue it has its own reward. There was no such thing as failure in the use of this kind of force. "Resist not evil" meant that evil was not to be repelled by